

FACT SHEET

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Dalits and Employment

Editorial

Any human being in order to have a decent living needs certain minimum sustenance. Employment, for a huge section of humanity, is the most important source for this sustenance. The denial of this basic human right means depriving an individual (or a group) of his/her minimum standard of life.

It is a well established fact that unemployment is one of the chief factors contributing for poverty and its related deprivation and social suffering in the world today. Apart from employment there is also the problem of under-employment. To understand under-employment, we need to look at employment first. Employment, according to Black Law dictionary, means a contract between an employer and an employee. Further, an employee is defined as: "A person in the service of another under any contract of hire, expressed or implied, oral or written, where the employer has the power or right to control and direct the employee in the material details of how the work is to be performed." He or she can be in a Government or a (private) commercial concern. This distinction is referred to as public sector and private sector. Governments, world over, employ huge numbers in order to run their respective Governments with the help of bureaucracies. Normally these Government employees have a high level of social status and economic power. More importantly they have a stable and secure employment in comparison to that of private sector. In other words, groups that are employed in the Government sector tend to have more social and economic status. At least this phenomenon is applicable to India. For example, in India if you are employed in, what they call, the Group A services such as IAS/ IFS/ IPS/ IRS you enjoy a social status that is not comparable to any other employment in India. This is not to argue that those who are employed in other Governmental organization are not enjoying any social and economic status. Not just social status, those who are employed in bureaucracy enjoy social power because they are a part of the State. What about the private sector? With the increase in privatization of Government sectors, people employed in private sector seem to be enjoying more and more economic status, and through economic status they seem to be gaining in social status. This phenomenon is prevalent, mostly, in third world or developing countries, and more particularly in India. One important observation needs a mention in this regard is that people employed in private sector do not enjoy assurance of their jobs unlike those who are employed within the Government sector. Their salaries also do not have stability and fluctuate along the lines of demand and supply of the market. They might also loose their jobs if market does not need their services. This is not the case for those employed with the Government. Our aim in this fact sheet is to understand the condition of Dalits i.e. both SCs and STs in terms of their employment. We will concentrate on their employment in Central Government enterprises. Since no data is available on their numbers in private sector i.e. private enterprises we will restrict ourselves to public sector only, more so public sector concerned with central Government.

Dalits and Reservation

In India, Dalits have been recognized as a social and economically marginalized minority group in India. Ambedkar has played a key role in furthering their interests by making the Constitution makers recognize their condition. The Constitution of India takes special measures by giving these Dalit groups (here by Dalit it means both SCs and STs) certain special provisions and safeguards. Most important among them is the progressive policy of reservation. Due to this policy of reservation many Dalits could make their way in to the public sector or Government jobs. This will include both central and state Government jobs. Both SCs and STs together get 22.3% reservation in all Government concerns except judiciary and defence services. The SCs get roughly about 15 to 16% and STs around 7.5% But with the increase in privatizing of Government jobs, a slight distinction needs to be kept in mind when talking about the SCs percentage of reservation. While in case of direct recruitment it is 15% and in the case of open competition it is 16.6%, it remains the same in the case of STs. Let us look in detail the specific provision for Dalits that have been enshrined within the Constitution.

Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution enable both the state and Central Governments to reserve seats in public services for the members of the SC and ST, thereby, enshrining equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the basis of caste, class, gender etc, but the Constitution goes further and in the Subsection 4 of the article it allows positive discrimination. It reads thus:

“Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class or citizens, which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State.”

The next important article is article 16(4A), which deals with reservation in promotion. It was added in the 77th Constitutional Amendment Act of 1995. It states thus:

“Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any provisions for reservation in the matter of promotion to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of SCs and STs which in the opinion of the State are not adequately represented under the State.”

A further amendment was made to article 16 in the year 2000 in the form of 81st Constitutional Amendment Act in order to fill the vacancies meant for Dalits. Article 16 (4 B) reads thus:

“Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from considering any unfilled vacancies of a year which are reserved for being filled up in that year in accordance with any provision for reservation made under clause (4) or clause (4A) as a separate class of vacancies to be filled up in any succeeding year or years and such class of vacancies shall not be considered together with the vacancies of the year in which they are being filled up for determining the ceiling of fifty percent reservation on total number of vacancies of that year.”

One of the Directive Principles of State Policy also guides the state to protect and promote the interests of SCs and STs. Article 46 states that:

“The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the SC and ST, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.”

Articles 330 and 332 provide for specific representation through reservation of seats for the SCs and the STs in the Parliament (Article 330) and in the State Legislative Assemblies (Article 332), as well as, in Government and public sector jobs, in both the federal and state Governments (Articles 16(4), 330(4) and 335).

To sum up, there are reservations for the SCs and STs for all groups of posts in the Central services, PSUs, public sector nationalized banks, and the public sector insurance companies. There are also reservations in the promotions of the employed persons from the marginalized sections. The Government services generally include Government civil services, PSUs, statutory and semi-Government bodies, and voluntary agencies etc. which are under the control of the Government or receive grants-in-aid.

Time period of reservation

Though reservation as a policy began much early in 1930s, Dalits got reservation in Government services only for a period of two years before the Independence under the British Government. Reservation with specific quotas in Government services was promulgated in 1943 through a Government order, which was later formalized in 1947 under the provision of Independent India's Constitution. Effectively, we can argue that, dalit started getting reservation from 1950's onwards.

I

Dalit and Employment

Employment, as we discussed in the editorial, is an important criterion to assess the status of a group in society. We can argue that if a particularly group is represented adequately in both public and private concerns then it means its social and economic status is fairly decent. Let us begin by looking at the decadal increase of Dalit population. We will first look at the SC population.

Census Year	Total Population (in millions)	SC Population (in millions)	% of the SC Population to the Total Population
1961	439.2	64.4	14.7
1971	547.9	80.0	14.6
1981*	665.3	104.8	15.7
1991**	838.6	138.2	16.5
2001***	1028.6	166.6	16.2

Note: * Excludes Assam in 1981, ** excludes Jammu and Kashmir in 1991, and ***excludes the Mao-Maram, Paomata, and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district in Manipur.
Source: Primary Census Abstract, Office of the Registrar General, New Delhi, India, 2001.

Census Year	Total Population (in millions)	ST Population (in millions)	% of the ST Population of the Total Population
1961	439.2	30.1	6.9
1971	547.9	38.0	6.9
1981*	665.3	51.6	7.8
1991**	838.6	67.8	8.1
2001***	1028.6	84.3	8.2

Note: * Excludes Assam in 1981, ** excludes Jammu and Kashmir in 1991, and ***excludes the Mao-Maram, Paomata, and Purul sub-divisions of Senapati district in Manipur.
Source: Primary Census Abstract, Office of the Registrar General, New Delhi, India, 2001.

In the year 1961, Dalits constituted about 64 million in population. They were roughly 14 percent of the over all population then. In the next 20 years they have increased by 40 million and the next 20 years they show an increase of roughly 60 million. Which means from 1961 to 2001 they have increased by 100 million and with 14 percent to 16 percent roughly to the overall population. Important to note is that in the year 1981 the whole of Assam population was not included in the census, which was included in the succeeding census but Jammu and Kashmir was excluded. The last census which was conducted in the year 2001 includes both the States but does not include the four subdivisions of the district Senapati in Manipur. However, roughly we have the figure about 166,635,700 persons belonging to the SC community in India.

Let us now look at the percentage trends of ST population.

The ST population which stood to about 30.1 million almost tripled to 84.3 million. And they show an increase from 6.8 percent to 8.2 percent increase i.e. about 2 percent increase in terms of their population to the general population. Important point to remember is that they only have about 7.5 percent reservation, while their population a percent more than that.

Representation in the Central Government

As on Jan 1	ST		ST		Non SC/ST	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
1960	228497	12.24	37704	2.02	1600528	85.74
1969	359943	15.24	70313	2.98	1932020	81.79
1970	291374	11.66	60325	2.41	2147584	85.93
1979	467712	15.12	120449	3.89	2504968	80.99
1980	490592	15.67	125004	3.99	2516129	80.34
1989	568600	16.41	174101	5.03	2721420	78.56
1990	590108	16.97	185245	5.33	2701700	77.70
1999	591839	16.70	218653	6.17	2733770	77.13
2000	582446	16.05	225917	6.23	2819519	77.72
2003	540220	16.52	211345	6.46	2517780	77.01

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, Government of India, New Delhi, 1985-1986, 1989-1990, and 2004-2005.

The Reservation Policy has helped many Dalits i.e. both SCs and STs to make it into the central Government services. Let us first look at their representation in the Central Government services overall.

Let us begin by first analysing the status of SCs from the above given table (table3).

The SCs were roughly about 228 thousand in the year 1960 in the central Government. Within the next 9 years they have increased to 359 thousand, which is an increase of 1, 31,446 persons. And a 2 percent increase in relation to the general population from 12. 24% to 15.24%. The next year there is a sharp fall by a 68 thousand roughly and a

decrease by 3 percent in just one year. The reasons for this sharp fall are not known. The next nine years (1970-1979) show an increase of 176338 persons, which restores the percentage of 15 percent roughly. The next 10 years (1979-1989) show a increase of 1 percent of their share compared to the general population. 100888 persons were added in this decade, which is less compared to the previous decade. With the addition of a few more the next year i.e. 1990 they have touched the highest with 16.97 percent in relation to the general population. Further 21508 persons were added within just one year. The next 9 years (1990-1999) they have increased only by 1731, which is almost negligible in comparison to the previous decade. Infact, in the next year they start to decrease by 9393 persons. Which means the phenomenon of liberalisation and privatisation is responsible for this decreasing trend. The next three years i.e. 2003 there is a sharp fall by 42226 employees from the SC community. Which means from 1990 to 2003, the period, which is called the era of liberalisation and privatisation and of economic growth, has actually affected the SC community with a huge decrease in their employment with

about 49888, almost by 50 thousand jobs. In simple terms, SCs have lost 50 thousand jobs in the whole period of liberalisation. If we look at their percentage, there is a decrease of 0.45% in this decade. However, they seem to be holding 16% roughly in relation to general population.

Let us now proceed to understand the status of STs in terms of their employment in the Central Government services. In 1960 they were about 37 thousand and constituted 2.02 percent in relation to the general population. They almost doubled by the next 9 years and reached 70 thousand. The next years like the SCs, there a decrease in about 10 thousand numbers. The next 9 years (1970-1979) they picked up and reached 3 percent in relation to the general population. They once again doubled within this period reaching 120 thousand. The next year another 5 thousand were added. The next set of 9 years (1980 to 1989) they increased by 49 thousand. Another 11 thousand the next year. They have actually reached 5.33 percent in relation to the general population, which is still less to proportion in terms of their general population that stood at 8.1 percent. 33408 STs were included in the central Government services in the next 9 years (1990-1999). Now they touched 6 percent in relation to the general population. The next year (2000) another 7264 were added, where a high percentage with 6.23% is recorded. From the 2000 to 2003, surprisingly, a drop of 14572 thousand persons is recorded, but their percentage in relation to the general population has increased to 6.46%.

Figure 4 Trends of Central Government Employment by social categories, 1960-2003

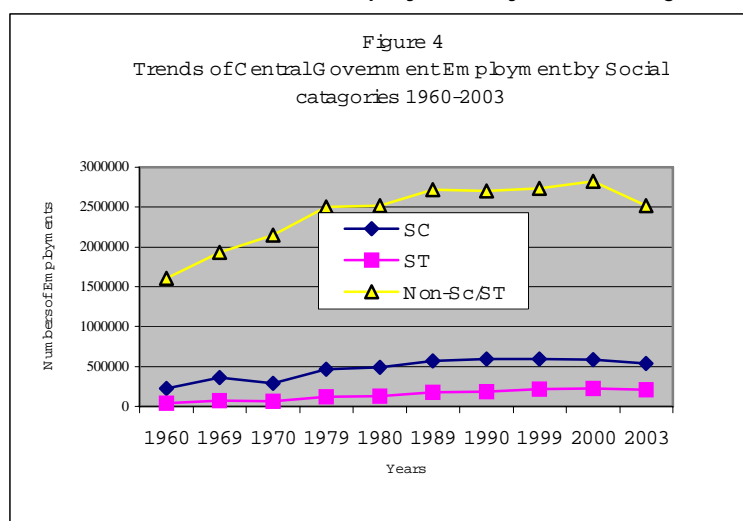


Figure 4 indicates that at an overall level and during the time periods 1960-2003, the annual growth rate of employment in Government jobs increased at the rate of 2.18 percent for the SCs, 4.48 percent for the STs, and 1.05 percent for the Non SC/STs in that order.

Based on the above analysis of both SC and ST data we can conclusively say that though their percentage in relation to the general data shows a decent representation but there is an overall fall in their job within the Central Governments. It is clearly evident in the case of SCs but not so with the ST community. Only the last three years i.e. 2000 to 2003 there is a sharp fall in 14 thousand. The causes for this phenomenon need to be studied.

The overall representation of SCs and STs do not show much. We need to understand the phenomenon at a much deeper level. We will need to look at their representation within the central Government. As it is well known the central Government services are divided into four categories. Group A, Group B, Group C and Group D. Group A and Group B are jobs that have both power and social status. Clerical staff or staff to assist both Group A and Group B services comes under Group C services. Group D is the lowest, which includes, drivers, peons and sweepers etc. Group A is the most elite of all central Government services. It includes Indian Administrative Services (IAS), Indian Foreign Services (IFS), Indian Police Services (IPS) and Indian Revenue Services (IRS). These services are the most elite of services, there are more sub categories in this group A category. The next group which is of importance is the Group B. In this group, personnel assisting the group A in running the Government are recruited. These people have a decent economic and social status. They also enjoy a certain degree of power. We can comfortably say that jobs that fall under these two categories are the most sort of after. The next two groups that is D and C are not sort after by the upper middle class section of society but is gaining critical importance due to shortage of jobs. Let us look at the Dalit representation in all these.

Table 5
Percentage share of the Social Groups to the Total Employees in Government Jobs by Categories (Excluding Sweepers)

YEARS	A		B			C			D			
	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	TOTAL	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	TOTAL	SC	ST	Non SC/STs	TOTAL
1965	1.64	0.27	97.59	100	2.82	0.34	96.56	100	8.88	1.14	89.71	100
1968	2.11	0.59	97.30	100	3.11	0.41	96.48	100	9.22	0.13	90.65	100
1971	2.58	0.41	97.01	100	4.06	0.43	95.51	100	9.59	1.67	88.74	100
1972	2.99	0.50	96.52	100	4.13	0.44	95.43	100	9.77	1.72	88.52	100
1973	3.14	0.50	96.36	100	4.51	0.49	95.00	100	10.05	1.95	87.99	100
1974	3.25	0.57	96.18	100	4.59	0.49	94.92	100	10.33	2.13	87.54	100
1975	3.43	0.62	95.95	100	4.98	0.59	94.43	100	10.71	2.27	87.02	100
1981	5.46	1.12	93.42	100	8.42	1.31	90.28	100	12.95	3.16	83.90	100
1982	5.49	1.17	93.34	100	9.02	1.43	89.55	100	13.39	3.47	83.14	100
1984	6.92	1.70	91.38	100	10.36	1.77	87.87	100	13.98	3.79	82.23	100
1985	7.65	1.73	90.62	100	10.04	1.58	88.39	100	14.88	4.20	80.92	100
1987	8.23	2.05	89.72	100	10.41	1.92	87.67	100	14.45	4.23	81.32	100
1988	8.67	2.30	89.04	100	11.18	2.10	86.72	100	14.80	4.48	80.72	100
1989	8.51	2.24	89.25	100	11.65	2.00	86.35	100	14.85	4.52	80.63	100
1990	8.64	2.58	88.78	100	11.29	2.39	86.32	100	15.19	4.83	79.98	100
1991	9.09	2.53	88.37	100	11.82	2.35	85.83	100	15.65	4.98	79.36	100
1992	9.67	2.92	87.40	100	11.57	2.38	86.05	100	15.74	3.16	81.10	100
1993	9.80	3.06	87.13	100	12.17	2.35	85.48	100	15.91	5.43	78.66	100
1994	10.24	2.93	86.83	100	12.06	2.81	85.13	100	15.74	5.38	78.88	100
1995	10.15	2.89	86.96	100	12.67	2.68	84.65	100	16.15	5.69	78.16	100
1996	11.51	3.57	84.93	100	12.30	2.81	84.89	100	15.45	5.65	78.90	100
1997	10.74	3.23	86.03	100	12.90	3.04	84.05	100	16.20	6.16	77.65	100
1998	10.80	3.44	85.76	100	12.35	3.02	84.63	100	16.32	6.01	77.67	100
1999	11.29	3.39	85.32	100	12.68	3.35	83.98	100	15.78	6.07	78.15	100
2000	10.97	3.48	85.55	100	12.54	3.09	84.37	100	15.88	6.33	77.79	100
2001	11.42	3.58	85.00	100	12.82	3.70	83.48	100	16.25	6.46	77.29	100
2002	11.09	3.97	84.94	100	14.08	4.18	81.74	100	16.12	5.93	77.94	100
2003	11.93	4.18	83.88	100	14.32	4.32	81.36	100	16.29	6.54	77.17	100

Source: Computed from the data provided in the Annual Report, Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, Government of India, New Delhi, 1985-1986, 1989-1990, and 2004-2005.

Let us begin by looking at the group A services. SCs constituted only 1.64% of the total percentage of employees in 1965, and by 2003 they have reached only 11.93% much below the stipulated 15% in this group. There seem to be a steady rise for 1965 onwards in this group with some minor fluctuations. This has increased by roughly 10 percent in 43 years. In group B services they started with 2.82 in 1965% and reached 14.32% in the next 43 years. They seem to be faring better in at this level. In group C services which is based on direct recruitment not on competitive exams they seem to have had a good start in comparison to earlier groups. They start with 8.88% and reach 16.29%, almost doubled at this level of bureaucracy. They have also met the target of 16% in the direct recruitment. In the last group i.e. Group D they have from 1965 onwards gone ahead of stipulated 16% with 17.75% and by 1983 they have reached they highest of 23.41 percent. From then onwards, they show a slow decline to 17%, which is still 1 percent higher than their required share. What does this fact tell? It tells us that reservation have been effective only at the very lower levels of the bureaucracy. Plus Dalits are still perceived as those who are fit for those kinds of jobs. There seem to be no resistance form the upper castes who oppose reservation- at this level. More importantly, the Table does not include sweepers. Once added Dalits will me more than 50% in these services. A large section of the society believes that Dalits are fit for such kinds of jobs only and this certainly gets reflected in the Table above. We will see in the next Table how Dalits will be more than 50% once the sweeper class get included. To that we will come in a short while.

Let us observe the status of STs in terms of these group categories. STs unlike SCs show a different trend when looked at within these categories. They had a staggering low representation within the Group A services with just 0.27%, and 0.34% in Group B services in the year 1965. They also show low percentage in group C and D with 1.4% and 3.50% in the year 1965. Important to notice is the difference in group D where SCs seeming to have been over-flooded with a more than 16%, STs have only 3.50 percent which is half of their required percentage of 7.5%. It took the next 43 years to reach 6.96%, i.e. 2003. Coming back to Group A and Group B services they show a very low representation in the whole 43 years or four decades. By 2003 they have reached only 4.18 and 4.32 in group A and group B services, which is almost half of their required percentage.

Let us look at their percentages with respect to their total population by categories. Until now we have looked at their share with reference to the overall representation. We will look at their distribution among various group categories. See the table below.

On Jan 1	A			B			C			D		
	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	SC	ST	Non SC/ST
1960	0.1	0.07	–	0.2	0.42	–	29.4	21.98	–	70.3	77.53	–
1965	0.1	0.1	0.99	0.3	2.0	1.56	32.2	24.3	51.08	67.4	75.4	46.37
1969	0.2	0.14	–	0.4	0.22	–	38.8	38.13	–	60.6	61.50	–
1970	0.1	0.17	–	0.6	0.31	–	41.9	37.48	–	57.5	62.05	–
1971	0.2	0.17	1.23	0.5	0.28	1.86	37.8	34.92	55.54	61.5	64.62	41.38
1979	0.5	0.36	–	0.9	0.48	–	46.1	44.38	–	52.5	54.77	–
1980	0.5	0.40	–	1.0	0.61	–	48.0	44.27	–	50.5	54.72	–
1981	0.6	0.48	1.89	1.1	0.67	2.17	49.6	48.03	60.23	48.8	50.82	35.71
1989	0.9	0.79	2.01	1.8	0.99	2.73	58.1	57.68	65.90	39.2	40.54	29.36
1990	0.9	0.86	2.03	1.8	1.20	2.97	57.1	57.82	65.63	40.2	40.12	29.37
1999	1.8	1.44	2.92	2.2	0.89	3.22	63.9	66.37	68.51	32.1	30.30	25.35
2000	1.8	1.45	2.84	3.0	1.61	4.14	64.6	66.54	65.34	30.7	30.41	27.69
2003	1.9	1.70	2.86	4.8	3.72	5.88	64.0	65.62	65.03	29.3	28.69	26.23

Source: Computed from the data provided in the Annual Report, Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, Government of India, New Delhi, 1985-1986, 1989-1990 and 2004-2005.

The Table above shows that only 0.1% and 0.07% of the SCs and STs got employed in the year 1960, while they are 70.3% and 77.53% in the Group D services in the same year. This stark difference is worth noticing. They remain below one percent until 1990 with 0.9% and 0.86% for a period of 34 years i.e 1960-1999 in the group A services. It took one decade more to i.e 1990 to 2000 to touch the 1 percent mark. Even until 2003 they are only

1.9 and 1.70% while the non-SC/ST represented 2.86% almost double in comparison to the SCs or STs. Coming to the Group B services both the groups are in a little better position with 0.2 %and 0.42% by 1980 the SCs touched the 1 percent mark while the STs were still below the 1 percent mark. It took them (STs) one more decade to reach the one percent mark. We can then deduce from this and say that STs are a decade lagging behind the SCs in their representation in the Group B services. By 2003 they stand at 4.8% and 3.72% in this category, still behind by roughly 1 percent in the case of SCs and 2% in the case of STs in comparison to the non SC/ST groups. Coming to the group C services where they seem to be predominantly occupied. Though they are about 29% and 21% in the year 1960 they have reached 64%and 65% by 2003. It is interesting to compare their representation with the Group D services. In the group D services they start with 70% and above in 1960 but get reduced to 29% and below, while in the group c they seem to be increasing. This shift is worth noticing. In simple words it means that SCs and STs are increasing in proportion in group C and decreasing in Group D.

We can conclude this section with the following observations:

- ❖ From 1960s to the 1980s half out of the hundred SC employees were concentrated in Group D and Group C services. Their share in the elite services is almost negligible; From 1980s onwards the representation of SCs in the Group C category has improved remarkably with a share of almost 64 percent to the total number of SC employees;
- ❖ This steady increase in Group C has also concomitantly reduced their share in Group D;
- ❖ The share of SC employees in Group A and Group B, unlike in Group C and Group D, has show only a slow increase over the last four decades;
- ❖ Their largest concentration is in both Groups C and D; more so in Group C.

In simple words reservation in employment has been more effective at the lower levels rather than higher levels. The sociological reasons for this phenomenon need to be explained. This fact sheet suggests that this phenomenon is in tune with the dominant misconception that Dalits i.e both SCs and STs are suitable for jobs which need no independent thinking, decision making and creativity. Also, with the view that Dalits deserve jobs that are dealing with drudgery. This is the status of Dalit and their employment in the central Government. Let us now move on to understand their condition in the public sector enterprises.

II

Representation in Public Sector Enterprises

Public sector enterprises (PSUs) are a concerns funded by the Government of India. They are further divided into central Government units and state Government units. India being a huge country, the framers of the Constitution sought for a socialist model of development. In a socialist model of economy the state takes major initiatives in building up industries and sectors that the crucial to the economy of the country. Most of the major transport corporations are owned by both central and state Governments. Heavy industry, banks, , railways, irrigation and power projects, defense ordinances, posts and telegraphs and other departmental concerns are come under the Public sector enterprises. This needs huge personnel to run these enterprises at the same time lot of workers. Before going further let us look at the following Table.

As the Table indicates that by 1971 there were 40640 SC and 12309 STs in public sector enterprises, which comes up to 7.42% and 2.25% respectively. The rest 90% is taken by the general categories. Within the next 9 years i.e. by 1989 the SCs touch the three lack mark almost multiplying by 8 times with a figure of 317401. In term of percentage they have doubled with 17.44%. The STs who were just 12309 multiplied by 11 times with a figure of 138364. In terms of percentage they register a sharp rise from just 2.25% to 7.60%. The next ten years the SCs added one lack more to their numbers with a figure of 428491 and with 2 point

On Jan 1	SC		ST		Non ST/ST	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
1971	40640	7.42	12309	2.25	494680	90.33
1979	300405	16.90	136061	7.66	1340900	75.44
1980	317401	17.44	138364	7.60	1364537	74.96
1989	423879	19.51	212460	9.78	1536538	70.71
1990	428491	19.58	216355	9.88	1543989	70.54
1999	336140	17.45	152286	7.91	1437977	74.65
2000	324140	18.00	145581	8.09	1330907	73.91
2004	236618	16.03	114481	7.76	1124990	76.21

Source: Public Enterprises Survey, Annual Report, Volume 1, Ministry of Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises, 1978-1979, 1988-1989, 1989-1990, 1990-1991, and 1991-1993 to 2004-2005, New Delhi.

increase in their percentage with a figure of 19.58%. The same is the case of STs i.e. 1980 to 1990 they almost doubled in numbers and their percentage also shows a sharp increase of 9.88%.

From 1990 onwards to 2000, which is the era of liberalisation and privatisation, they fall back to the three lakh figure. Once calculated 104350 SC jobs have been lost. However their percent seems to have comedown by only one percent i.e. 18%. The same phenomenon seems to effected the STs too. Form 216355 to 145581 persons, which translates into loss of 70774 jobs for STs. We have to keep in mind that the same phenomenon seems to have affected the non-SC/ST too. From 1543989 to 1330907 is loss of 213082 jobs for the general categories. However, their percentage seems to have increased from 70.54% to 73.91%. From 2000 to 2004 the same trend continues and needs an explanation. One possible but obvious explanation is the policy of liberalisation and privatisation. As public sector enterprises got privatised many lost their jobs, because the private owners want to manage these concerns by cutting down costs by reducing the personal. This affected Dalits most stringently because they do not have the benefit of reservations in the private sector. While the non-SC/ST groups get easily accommodated into the private sector due to other sociological reasons. Most Dalits do not own any agriculture land to rely upon in case of emergency unlike other castes. This makes their situation worst. Hence Government jobs become crucial for them. In private sector jobs they are exploited and the forced to terms and conditions which are inhuman and exploitative.

Like we have seen them in central Government services in group categories we will also see their performance in group categories in public sector enterprises. They have the same categorisation like the central Government services.

On Jan 1	Group A			Group B			Group C			Group D (Excluding Sweepers)		
	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	SC	ST	Non SC/ST
1971	163	53	31095	549	57	35145	19302	4519	327526	20626	7680	100914
1979	1917	440	81375	3605	833	82487	203974	94582	903058	90909	40206	273980
1980	2726	623	90635	5003	1329	91424	230505	98329	945747	79167	38083	236731
1989	10825	2423	174576	13957	3830	148081	270197	125101	1012877	128900	81106	201004
1990	11215	2702	174451	14938	4289	151896	270594	126158	1012843	131744	83206	204799
1999	21005	5838	180581	18644	7180	149502	199585	90551	825176	96906	48717	282718
2000	21125	6057	176945	19355	7317	148487	191931	85744	736242	91729	46463	269233
2004	20006	6032	148260	19802	8980	140206	141357	67396	619364	55453	32073	217160

Here are the actual figures of employees in public sector enterprises in Group-wise distribution. Only 163 SCs were part of group A services, while the general was at 31095 in 1971. The STs were even low at 53 numbers. In Group B they were 549 and 57, which is also low compared to the general category. In group C and Group D one can actually see the difference they are around nineteen thousand of SCs and four thousand of STs in group C; and 20 thousand and seven thousand in Group D. remember this figures in group d is excluding the sweepers, which means that once the sweepers get included the SCs and STs with increase many fold. For the reason that, as it is a well known fact that Dalits are mostly employed in menial jobs. If we come to 2004 the SCs have reached the 20 thousand figure and the STs have reached the 6 thousand figure. In group B they are a little less with 19 thousand and 8 thousand. 8 thousand for STs is a better representation than theirs in group A. In group C and group D the phenomenon of their over representation continues. Let us now move on to look at their representation in terms of percentages.

The status of Dalits in group A, in the year 1971 the Dalits i.e. both SCs and STs constituted less than one percent, while the general castes were more than 99%. Form this abysmally low percent they have reached 11.48 and 3.36 percent in the next 33 years or 2004. Together they constituted only 14.84 percent, which is 7.66% less then the stipulated 22.5% reserved for both of them. On an average the SCs have increased by 0.34% per year and STs have grown at the rate of 0.10% in the last 33 years. Compared to the Central Government services this is a poor representation. Let us look at their status in Group B category in public sector enterprises. Here they start with 1.54% and 0.16% in the year 1971. For SCs in comparison to the Group A category this is a better number but for STs they seem to be even less in Group B category. But if we come to the end of the table in 2004 they seems to have taken place a shift in representation. The SCs seem to have not bettered much here in comparison to Group A with 11.72%, but the STs have certainly done better with 5.31%. Together they constitute

Table 9
Percentage Share of the Social Groups to the Total Employees in Public Sector Undertakings by Categories
(Excluding Sweepers)

On Jan 1	Group A				Group B				Group C				Group D			
	SC	ST	Non ST/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non ST/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non ST/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non ST/ST	Total
1971	0.52	0.17	99.31	100	1.54	0.16	98.30	100	5.49	1.29	93.22	100	15.96	5.94	78.09	100
1972	0.68	0.15	99.17	100	1.84	0.19	97.97	100	8.11	2.20	89.69	100	17.63	7.39	74.98	100
1973	0.95	0.24	98.82	100	2.53	0.28	97.19	100	9.01	2.84	88.15	100	24.50	8.26	67.24	100
1974	1.19	0.26	98.55	100	2.96	0.41	96.63	100	13.18	6.30	80.52	100	26.70	11.69	61.61	100
1975	1.44	0.30	98.26	100	3.02	0.42	96.56	100	13.73	5.97	80.29	100	26.29	11.93	61.78	100
1976	1.68	0.36	97.96	100	3.19	0.54	96.27	100	16.37	8.22	75.41	100	24.14	13.67	62.18	100
1977	1.81	0.43	97.76	100	3.09	0.55	96.36	100	16.76	7.68	75.56	100	22.53	10.32	67.15	100
1978	2.03	0.47	97.51	100	3.68	0.91	95.41	100	16.30	7.41	76.29	100	22.85	10.51	66.64	100
1979	2.29	0.53	97.19	100	4.15	0.96	94.89	100	16.98	7.87	75.15	100	22.44	9.93	67.63	100
1980	2.90	0.66	96.44	100	5.12	1.36	93.52	100	18.08	7.71	74.20	100	22.36	10.76	66.88	100
1981	3.18	0.69	96.13	100	6.12	1.52	92.36	100	18.15	7.92	73.94	100	20.89	11.29	67.82	100
1982	3.58	0.88	95.54	100	6.58	1.87	91.54	100	17.80	8.47	73.72	100	22.28	12.40	65.32	100
1983	3.69	0.87	95.44	100	6.58	1.93	91.49	100	17.83	8.57	73.60	100	22.34	12.47	65.18	100
1984	3.93	0.89	95.18	100	5.38	1.60	93.02	100	18.23	8.65	73.13	100	27.37	15.13	57.50	100
1985	4.12	0.89	94.98	100	5.51	1.57	92.92	100	18.34	8.62	73.04	100	27.21	15.13	57.66	100
1986	4.58	1.00	94.42	100	6.09	1.59	92.32	100	18.50	8.76	72.73	100	30.75	17.00	52.24	100
1987	4.86	1.18	93.97	100	6.17	1.55	92.28	100	18.54	8.82	72.63	100	30.83	17.07	52.10	100
1988	5.32	1.17	93.50	100	7.00	2.09	90.91	100	19.04	8.90	72.06	100	31.13	19.48	49.39	100
1989	5.76	1.29	92.95	100	8.41	2.31	89.28	100	19.19	8.88	71.93	100	31.36	19.73	48.90	100
1990	5.95	1.43	92.61	100	8.73	2.51	88.76	100	19.20	8.95	71.85	100	31.39	19.82	48.79	100
1991	6.41	1.55	92.05	100	9.05	2.53	88.42	100	19.20	9.02	71.78	100	30.79	19.73	49.48	100
1992	6.69	1.66	91.65	100	9.22	2.95	87.83	100	16.82	8.13	75.05	100	23.25	9.71	67.05	100
1993	7.37	1.88	90.75	100	9.12	3.37	87.51	100	18.71	8.42	72.87	100	21.90	9.76	68.34	100
1994	7.80	1.88	90.32	100	9.54	3.30	87.15	100	17.97	8.95	73.08	100	23.84	9.85	66.32	100
1995	8.19	2.17	89.64	100	9.50	3.30	87.20	100	18.95	8.72	72.32	100	22.58	9.85	67.57	100
1996	8.41	2.27	89.32	100	9.68	3.52	86.80	100	19.14	8.72	72.14	100	22.41	10.68	66.92	100
1997	9.20	2.50	88.31	100	10.40	3.70	85.90	100	18.98	8.62	72.40	100	22.61	10.82	66.57	100
1998	9.56	2.62	87.82	100	10.53	3.88	85.58	100	18.97	8.47	72.55	100	22.57	10.86	66.57	100
1999	10.13	2.81	87.06	100	10.63	4.10	85.27	100	17.89	8.12	73.99	100	22.62	11.37	66.00	100
2000	10.35	2.97	86.68	100	11.05	4.18	84.77	100	18.93	8.46	72.61	100	22.51	11.40	66.08	100
2001	10.76	3.03	86.20	100	11.52	4.61	83.87	100	18.94	8.81	72.25	100	22.89	11.28	65.83	100
2002	11.20	3.36	85.44	100	12.01	4.91	83.09	100	19.05	8.80	72.15	100	21.67	10.86	67.47	100
2003	11.75	3.48	84.76	100	12.44	5.15	82.41	100	19.38	9.24	71.39	100	21.47	11.03	67.50	100
2004	11.48	3.46	85.06	100	11.72	5.31	82.97	100	17.07	8.14	74.79	100	18.20	10.53	71.27	100

Source: Public Enterprises Survey, Annual Report, Volume 1, Ministry of Heavy Industries and Public Enterprises, 1978-1979, 1988-1989, 1989-1990, 1990-1991, and 1991-1993 to 2004-2005, New Delhi.

17.03 %, which is still less than their fixed 22.5% of the jobs. Coming to Group C category, we see that SCs and STs seem to have a good start from the beginning. By 2003 they have gone beyond the required percentage of about 17.07% and 8.14%, when added up becomes 25.21%. This percentage is 2.5% more than the required 22.5%. Important to notice is that they have reached the required percentage of 16% and 7.5% within just seven years from 1971. The SCs have touched 19.20 percent in the 90s.

Let us now look at the Group D services. Important to remember is that excluding the sweepers these are the figures. Once the sweepers are added, the number of Dalits will increase manifold due to their huge presence in this type of jobs. Right from 1971 onwards the SCs seem to have been touching the required 15% mark and the STs are just 2% less to their required quota. Within one year they have fulfilled their quota. Over the rest of the years both the SCs and STs have been overflowing in number in this category. In 1990 both the groups have literally doubled with a 31.39% and 19.82% in the group D category. The question one needs to ask is: whether this particular phenomenon is a positive sign or a negative one? This factsheet argues that it is not necessarily a positive trend because it reinforces the common upper caste notion that Dalits are fit for such kinds of jobs. Their abysmally low representation in the group A and Group B services and their overrepresentation in the Groups C and group D, particularly the Group D show that Dalits have benefited from reservation only at the lower levels of the Government service, creating a class of lower middle class Dalits. In fact, one can argue that the need for reservation in group D services is not necessary at all. It also tells us that this phenomenon is a mockery of reservation policy as argued and defended by B.R. Ambedkar. Ambedkar argued that Dalits need reservation for the sake of representation in services, which deal with their economic and social wellbeing. Such as in the bureaucracy, in the elite services of this bureaucracy, because they are services which deal with the distribution of resources or social benefits and of delivering justice: not in Group D jobs. A higher representation of Dalits at the lower levels does not in any way change the character of the bureaucracy, when the upper castes dominate at the higher levels of hierarchy.

Representation in Public Sector Banks

Public sector banks are banks managed by the Government. In 1969 banks were nationalised by the Government. Once nationalised the policy of reservation also applies to them too. Major banks like State bank of India (SBI), Reserve Bank of India (RBI), Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI), Export Import Bank of India (Exim bank), Industrial Investment Bank of India for Agriculture and Rural Development etc are some among the 19 banks that were nationalised. Let us begin by looking at their numbers collected decade wise. See the Table below (table 10).

Years	SC		ST		Non SC/ST	
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent
1978	55976	10.19	8571	1.56	484784	88.25
1980	68042	11.61	11992	2.05	505889	86.34
1988	117415	13.80	30815	3.62	702738	82.58
1990	126974	14.39	37362	4.23	717921	81.37
1999	135597	15.15	43871	4.90	715556	79.95
2000	143499	16.12	43658	4.91	702765	78.97
2004	133685	17.61	43454	5.72	581910	76.66

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1978 and 2004-2005.

In the year 1978 i.e. after 9 years of the nationalisation of the banks the number of SCs amounted to 55957, which is 10.19% of the total employees. The STs were 8571 in number and constituted only 1.56%, which is very meagre in relation to their required percentage 7.5%. Within the next two years i.e. by 1980 they rose to 11.61% and 2.05%, respectively. The next ten years i.e. by 1990 the SCs touched 14.39% and STs 4.23%, which is 4% increase for SCs and 2.50% increase for STs. Only in the year 2000 i.e. after 31 years after the nationalisation, the SC quota could be fulfilled with a 16.12%. The ST quota is still to be filled which only stood at 4.91 in 2000 and touched 5.72% in 2004. The 5.72% is still 1.78% less than the required 7.5. However, this is not the case with SCs; they are almost one percent more than their required percentage. But if we notice the numbers there has been a decline in number from 143499 to 133685, which amounts to 9814 SC jobs and for STs it is only 204 jobs. For the general category the reduction is of 120855 jobs, which means the impact of privatisation of bank

have effected all the section of the society. But these figures do not show much as to the nature and quality of their representation. Therefore we need to further classify, like we did for both central Government and public sector enterprises, and then assess their status.

Years	Officers				Clerks				Sub-Staffs			
	SC	ST	Non ST/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non ST/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non ST/ST	Total
1978	2.04	0.17	97.79	100	10.32	1.82	87.86	100	16.25	2.09	81.67	100
1979	3.03	0.59	96.38	100	12.13	1.98	85.89	100	21.14	2.95	75.91	100
1980	3.09	0.65	96.26	100	11.93	2.24	85.82	100	20.06	3.09	76.85	100
1981	3.87	0.88	95.25	100	12.57	2.38	85.05	100	17.57	3.55	78.89	100
1982	4.64	1.07	94.30	100	12.96	2.75	84.29	100	22.42	4.33	73.25	100
1983	4.87	1.28	93.85	100	13.48	2.95	83.57	100	23.15	3.97	72.88	100
1984	5.72	1.48	92.80	100	13.83	3.41	82.76	100	23.79	4.32	71.89	100
1985	6.90	1.76	91.34	100	14.04	3.75	82.20	100	24.77	4.43	70.79	100
1986	7.30	1.85	90.86	100	13.78	3.78	82.44	100	24.88	4.50	70.62	100
1988	8.32	2.20	89.48	100	13.87	3.92	82.21	100	21.01	4.74	74.25	100
1989	8.82	2.47	88.71	100	14.03	4.27	81.70	100	21.41	5.61	72.99	100
1990	9.16	2.71	88.11	100	14.22	4.46	81.32	100	21.84	5.68	72.48	100
1991	9.56	3.00	87.45	100	14.19	4.50	81.31	100	21.83	5.74	72.43	100
1992	11.13	3.12	85.75	100	14.32	4.56	81.12	100	21.98	5.80	72.22	100
1993	9.87	3.12	87.01	100	14.37	4.55	81.08	100	22.96	5.87	71.17	100
1994	10.25	3.35	86.41	100	14.45	4.57	80.98	100	23.30	5.84	70.86	100
1995	10.71	3.52	85.77	100	14.53	4.64	80.83	100	22.37	5.84	71.79	100
1996	11.11	3.65	85.24	100	14.69	4.71	80.61	100	23.01	5.96	71.03	100
1997	11.47	3.85	84.67	100	14.83	4.71	80.46	100	23.46	6.17	70.37	100
1998	11.88	4.01	84.11	100	15.01	4.81	80.18	100	23.25	6.16	70.59	100
1999	10.55	4.09	85.36	100	14.92	4.84	80.23	100	22.24	6.20	71.56	100
2000	12.51	4.22	83.27	100	14.88	4.76	80.36	100	24.47	6.25	69.28	100
2001	13.04	4.31	82.65	100	15.17	4.81	80.02	100	24.80	6.43	68.77	100
2002	14.41	5.10	80.49	100	15.90	5.10	79.00	100	25.72	6.43	67.85	100
2004	14.98	5.88	79.14	100	16.16	5.08	78.76	100	25.38	7.02	67.60	100

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1978 to 2004-2005.

Here we have classified the bank employees in to three categories: Officers, Clerks and Sub-categories. Let us begin with the officers. In 1978 the SC officers were about 2.04% and the STs were 0.17%, which like other areas we have just seen is very low. By 1990, i.e. after 12 years, some improvement in their figures takes place, more so for SCs with 9.18% and 2.71% for STs. Even after more than two decades i.e. in the year 2004 they are still short of 1 percent, if we take 16.66% stipulated for this kind of jobs. The STs are even low by 2% with only 5.88 percent, where it should be at least 7.5 %. Let us move one to the clerical representation. At this level the SCs have a decent start with 10.32%, but the STs are still very low of just about 1.82%. In 2004, that is after 33 years, the STs are still less by two percent. The case of SCs seems to be decent with their reaching the required percentage after such a long period. Let us now, understand their status in the sub-category level jobs. By 1978 i.e. within 9 years the SCs have touched the required 16% mark, but the STs were only 2%. It takes 33 year i.e. 2004 for the STs to reach 7 percent, which is still less by 0.5%. The SCs are much more than 16% with 25.38%. This once again proves that Dalits are doing well, rather thriving in lower level jobs, which as we argued earlier is not necessarily a positive sign. The overall percentage of 17%, in this sector, could be reached due to their over representation in lower level jobs. One can deduce a certain trend seems to emerge in all the sector of the Government in relation to the representation of Dalits. Before going into that let us look at the status of Dalits in the public sector insurance companies.

Public Sector Insurance Companies

The Public Sector Insurance Companies are as old as the country itself. The 'Insurance Act' was enacted in the year 1938 and the 'Life Insurance Act' was enacted in the year 1956. The 'General Insurance Business Nationalised

Act' was brought in the year 1972 and the Insurance Regulatory And Development Authority Act was brought in the year 1999.

As on 31/30	SC		ST		Non SC/ST	
	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent	Numbers	Percent
1993	14865	13.92	5423	5.08	86477	81.00
2000	20283	16.59	8058	6.59	93953	76.83

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1992 to 2004-2005.

In the year 1993 there were 14865 SCs and 5423 STs in insurance companies. They then form 13.92 percent and 5.08 percent, respectively. By 2000 they emerged 20283 SCs and 8058 STs with a percentage of 16.59% and 6.59%. With the SCs the required percentage was met within seven years and the STs are still falling behind by 0.5%.

Years	Group A				Group B				Group C				Group D			
	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	Total	SC	ST	Non SC/ST	Total
1993	8.59	1.99	89.42	100	11.61	3.45	84.94	100	13.24	5.64	81.12	100	27.09	7.35	65.56	100
1994	9.69	2.48	87.83	100	12.24	3.43	84.32	100	13.84	5.45	80.71	100	56.69	3.33	39.98	100
1995	11.24	2.86	85.89	100	12.74	3.64	83.61	100	14.68	5.87	79.45	100	59.61	4.44	35.95	100
1996	12.82	3.39	83.80	100	12.75	3.69	83.56	100	14.50	6.23	79.26	100	73.35	4.57	22.08	100
1997	14.03	4.00	81.97	100	1.36	4.15	94.50	100	15.24	6.63	78.13	100	28.38	7.76	63.86	100
1999	14.65	4.50	80.84	100	13.57	4.17	82.25	100	15.87	7.63	76.50	100	27.27	7.99	64.74	100
2000	14.63	4.56	80.80	100	13.97	4.40	81.63	100	16.46	7.33	76.20	100	25.96	8.47	65.56	100

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1992 to 2004-2005.

In this Table we have group-wise distribution from the year 1993 to 2000 i.e. for only a period of seven years. The categorisation is the same as with other central Government jobs. In group A category SCs constituted 8.59% and STs constituted of 1.99% of the employed. As is evident the STs are abysmally low and they remain low even after seven years i.e. 2000 with only 4.56%. The SCs are also less by one to two percent in comparison to the stipulated 16%. In the group B category the SCs and STs seem to have a decent start with 11.61% and 3.45% in the year 1993 but by 2000 they seem to be even less than group A with 13.97% and 4.40%. As expected their numbers in group C are better than the group A and B categories. They have moved from 13.24% to 16.46% and the STs from 5.64% to 7.33%. Here, in this category they are comfortably within the stipulated quota. In the group D category once again they are much more than the stipulated quota. By 1993 the SCs are 27%, which is 12% more than required and the STs were 7.35 almost the required quota. By 1996 the SCs were four times more than the required percentage with 73.35%. Surprisingly, this is not the case with STs, in fact they are 2% less with just only 4.57%. This phenomenon seems mysterious. Surprisingly, once again the numbers of SCs have drastically come down within just one year by 44.97%. The trend continues with them until 2000. The STs picked up in their percentage with an increase almost four percent i.e. from 4.57% to 8.47%. Let us look at their actual number category wise to understand their situation in a better way.

Out of the 14586 SCs 1023 belonged to group A category in the year 1993 and 1898 in group B and 8910 in group C and 3034 in group D. If we look at their numbers they just doubled by 2000 with 2372 in group A and 2721 in group B and 12645 in group C and 2543 in group D. Here, unlike the percentage, we get a different picture. In both group A and B they just doubled and in Group C only four thousand jobs were added and, interestingly, in group D they jobs actually declined by almost thousand jobs with 2543 jobs. If we look at the STs they were 237 in group A and 565 in group B. In group C they were 3798 and in group D they were 823. By 2000 they almost tripled in group A and in group B 261 jobs were added. In group C almost 2000 jobs got added and not significant increase in group D. The figure remains almost the same with just a few jobs added. This trend is surprising if we start comparing with their representation in group A and group B categories. From the whole data one can notice

Table 13
Employment by Social Groups the Public Sector Insurance Companies 1993-2000

Years	Group A			Group B			Group C			Group D		
	SC	ST	Non-SC/ST	SC	ST	Non-SC/ST	SC	ST	Non-SC/ST	SC	ST	Non-SC/ST
1993	1023	237	10646	1898	565	13891	8910	3798	54598	3034	823	7342
2000	2374	740	13108	2721	865	15897	12645	5632	58527	2543	830	6421

Source: Annual Report, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, 1992 to 2004-2005.

that the SCs seem to fluctuate in huge numbers while the fluctuation among STs is very minimal. The policies of the Government have a major impact on the SCs, much more than the STs.

Tamil Nadu

Respondent Perceptions of Occupational Representation among Convert and Non-Convert Men in the Respondents Settlement and Settlements Around, in Rural Tamil Nadu, 1988 – 1989.

Occupational Category	Respondent Perception	
	Other Dalits	Christian Dalits
Daily Wage (agriculture)	50	60
Daily wage (non-agriculture)	25	25
Self-employed (cultivation)	10	5
Self employed (other)	0	0
Government Service	8	3
Private Service	10	5
Unemployed	10	20
Others	5	10

The Indian Social Institute research further states that as for the difficulty of access path to their cheri, for 80.5% of the respondents, there is no difference between the Christian Dalits and non-Christian Dalits.

While 17.5% of other Dalits had brick houses with thatched roof, only 10.6% of Christian Dalits had similar houses. Christians have 6% more mud and straw huts than other Dalits. In predominantly agricultural villages there are 4% more Christian Dalit agricultural coolies than among the non-Christians (who go for better jobs because of Government reservation).

In self-employment (both in cultivation and non-agricultural enterprise), the non-Christian Dalits are double the Christian Dalits.

In matter of untouchability, according to 84.5% of the respondents, Christian Dalits were treated on par or worse than the non-christian Dalits.

Kerala

Percentage of Labour Force by Work–Category, Caste and Religion, Kerala, 1968				
Community				
Work Category	Hindus of SC origin	Other Hindus	Christian of SC origin	Other Christians
Employee (Daily or Weekly)	79.24	45.67	83.89	33.45
Employee (Monthly Wage or Salary)	3.75	13.03	4.06	14.00
Employer	0.15	3.92	0.92	4.32
Self Employed	8.08	21.58	4.37	29.35
Unpaid Family Enterprise	3.59	7.00	3.16	9.57
Unemployed	5.18	8.79	3.70	9.31
Number	709	340,839	162,355	1,188,888

Conclusion

We have in this fact sheet closely observed the status of Dalits i.e. both SCs and STs in all the major Central Government concerns. We looked at the Central Government jobs, public sector enterprises, public sector banks and public insurance companies. For our observation, one major phenomenon seems to emerge. It is that the overall representation of Dalits in some of the sectors has satisfied the required criterion of 15% and 7.5%, which adds up to 22.5%. However, this representation is not something which needs to be critically assessed. We found out that the over representation of Dalits at the lower level jobs and the under-representation at the higher level jobs has actually defeated the very purpose of reservation, which according to Ambedkar is to fasten and improve the representation of Dalits in bureaucracy. Reservation for him is not a job giving enterprise to improve their economic status but to improve their representation which, further will change the character of the bureaucracy and other central Government services by the inclusion of Dalits. This change in the character of bureaucracy was needed because the domination of upper castes in these services has resulted in a bureaucracy, which is unproductive and unjust to Dalits. The change will take place only when Dalits reach the top levels of bureaucracy and hold power enough to change it. This phenomenon, where Dalits are filled at the lower levels will not bring any significant change in the character of the Government services, except some minimal economic security and benefits to Dalits.

Over representation of Dalits at the lower levels also reinforces the view that Dalits are suitable for jobs that need no intelligence and creativity. They are suited for doing menial jobs or drudgery. Jobs, where qualities like skill, intelligence and good communication are needed the Dalits are not suitable for or only the upper castes are suitable for such kind of jobs.

Most important of all, the facts shown in this fact sheet totally debunk the myth that the Dalit elite are the sole beneficiaries of reservation and are dominating in the Group A services by blocking the lower class Dalits. As we have seen, the Group A category has been filled only recently, in comparison to the whole span of 54 years existence of the reservation policy. In some sectors the quota is not completely filled at all, so the argument that reservation is benefiting only a section of Dalits is prejudiced.

One more important fact that emerges is that the time taken to fill the group A and group B jobs shows that the development of an educated Dalit class has taken long time and may need a much longer time for them to develop into a class which is confident and self-reliant. It will also take much longer time for the character of the whole bureaucracy to change, because Dalits at the higher levels are minuscule in numbers and have no significant say in the decision making process at the top levels.



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